"Leaves of two ferns are used for the scanty covering which young girls tuck under their belts before and behind. One of these, riri, is especially common about the base of coconut trees, and among the moss that covers some of their aerial roots. It is worn green. The other, ènènux, a bird's-nest fern, is cured in the sun before wearing."

2: Damm et al. --23-26 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 291 Ifaluk

Both sexes wear woven loin mats (bălebal) of banana and hibiscus fibers *. Generally they are decorated with long black stripes (garĭl), and then red stripes (garĭl ligodjăl) are interspersed between them occasionally. All of the mats have fringes (Maderăl). The most prized loin mats are the ones with artistic diagonal black stripes (dăb), which have a wealth of different types of patterns (gaiăgi dawŏl). [26]

Young girls wear an apron (siwisĭf) of leaf strips, which can be made from various kinds of trees; it consists of a front and a back apron, and it is fastened under the gĭdi girdle.

The hat (bălŭń) is made out of pandanus leaf strips, which are sewed together.

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* According to Robertson this clothing is similar to what the Oleai natives wear, and it consists of fine pandanus mats.

2; Damm et al, --123
116, 291

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Aurupik

Both men and women wear the woven loin aprons, which constitute their clothing. Little girls wore a grass skirt, while the boys were naked, or donned the woven loin apron of the men. a) Grass skirts (Hellwig: bánñ; Krämer: pánnñ) are worn by girls before they reach adolescence. They consist of pandanus leaf strips (Hellwig: vas), which are tied to a coconut fiber string. b) Woven loin aprons (dóle) are made of hibiscus or banana fibers (Hellwig: wuis, wüis); the latter are softer and have a silky sheen, so they are more expensive than the others. The designs on Eauripik clothing mats are as varied as they are on Ifaluk. Krämer made the following table of mats, but he observed that the notations came from a Faraulip man.

1) dór (Hellwig: dórr); a mat with two narrow black strips along the sides; the center has two broad black and two narrow red strips.

2) gáb; a mat with two narrow black border strips and a middle strip of equal width.

3) bülou; see plate 8, left center. [VMM: See source]

4) dóro kíti see plate 8 left below. [VMM: See source]

5) béig; a mat with two narrow red strips in a black middle field; see plate 8 upper left. [VMM: See source]

c) Hip girdles for women: 1) xrím (Hellwig) made out of human hair, as on Ifaluk.

2) Datár (Hellwig) of coconut disks, in three strands, and with tortoise-shell fillets. These girdles are characteristic of Aurepik; they were sold to Polowat.

d) Hats (dólivat) of pandanus leaves stitched together; these are for both men and women.

2: Damm et al. --162 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 291 Faraulep

The clothing varies according to the age and the sex of the wearer. The natives believe that Eluelap introduced it in order to prevent incest. Accordingly, a man cannot appear without his loin apron. This does not apply to boys and girls until they are four; they go naked. Then the girls begin to wear a modesty skirt (ṯiwísíf) of fragrant grasses, while the boys don the woven loin apron (xariur). The women's mat (béix) is also woven, but it is considerably wider. The men's loin cloth is in the T shape, but the women's is held on a string (śrím), that is plaited of hair; and over it they generally have a girdle of three to four strands of coconut beads; this girdle (mxramar) is divided into fields by shell fillets. While this is made on Faraulip, it does not apply to the rare girdle, (xídi) bought on Aurepik; it is very wide (up to eight strands) and it is also divided into fields by means of fillets.

Seafarers have clothing that affords better protection; they wear pointed caps, stitched together out of pandanus strips (párin), and when the weather is really inclement, they use rain caps (palúu), sailing jackets (nikót) and coconut dress mats (ua lulié).

4: Krämer--34 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 291 Lamotrek

European dress is not seen [VMM: on Lamotrek]

The costume of both sexes is similar to that of the natives of Truk and the surrounding islands. The men wear the G-string and the boys go naked; women wear their plaited mats, and growing girls like to cover themselves in front and in the back with bunches of leaves. This protection is known as titi; it is the same word that is used on Samoa for the girls' apron.

Girls' skirts are made in the following manner: fern leaves are dried in the sun and then the stalks are chewed (Elisabeth Krämer: nürei) until they become soft. Then two of the leaves are tied with two others and two new ones are placed on them from both the right and the left and the stems are plaited into a braid while the tips are held between the knees. On Plate 3b [MR: see source] one can well see the stems sticking out on top and the picture shows very well the type of ornamentation that the girls put on. Parinarium nuts were named as scent; they had drifted ashore and were hung up on women's houses. Elato: aiss.

4: Krämer--37 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 291 Lamotrek

Belts are called gabidj (Hellwig: xapéss, worn--tetár) and are usually made up of three strands. I was told that the name for one of the three strand belts, which was said to have been imported, was tagágapaki; paki or pake are the little bridges that hold the strands apart and in place, and which have previously been discussed in Truk page 109, where they were called fëken. They are made of white shell or of leang (Truk: Leange-éo Pteroceras) or of mother-of-pearl or tortoise shell. The strand of the belt are generally made up of little pieces of coconut shell, or beads, and more rarely of tortoise-shell as is the case with the fine, precious and beautiful belts of the Western Carolines, the taral of Oleai.... Whenever these more elaborate belts are worn it is certain that they have been imported. Plate 3b [VMM: see text] shows such a belt, of seven strands, worn by the girl on the right, while plate 3c shows a woman wearing the more ordinary belt of three strands; see also Figure 8 [VMM: see source]. The girl on the left of Plate 3b has a single strand for holding up the titir...and another one of this type is shown on photo 372 (Plate 3c) [VMM: see source]. Usually they are twisted from human hair like the handles of the baskets in Fig. 42 [VMM: see source]. These hair belts are known as toradja djiem. (Hellwig: tetáre sim of Elato.)

First Type of Mat

(cf. Plate 6, 7, 10 [VMM: see source]).

Mats of hibiscus with a pattern of seven stripes are worn by women, whereas mats with seven stripes worn by men are made of banana fibers.

The éllepat a le gílifer is such a hibiscus mat for women; it has seven black stripes and six light stripes of yellowish natural color between them; the effect in the case of the latter is produced by some groups of white, shiny, banana fibers. Some white banana fibers. Some white banana threads are even introduced into the black stripes; they are used either one or two at one time and are so fine and thin that they do not weaken the impression of blackness. The effect of most of the double threads in the black fields is purely ornamental. In order to produce this effect, four shed formations are necessary, whereas the entire remaining part of the mat is woven with the two sheds of the plain weave. To weave ornamental stitches by means of the four shed formation is known as gásuitieb, two shed or plain weave--aláli pelách. From now on I shall talk about these types of weaves using the native terms; the word for banana fiber is uidj, that for hibiscus fibers gilifer.

garier is the name for the seven striped men's mat which is made of uidj. It is woven with finer threads than the women's mat and, when especially fine, it is known as garier kénusch (Plate 6i [VMM: see source]).

Most common are plain weaves, aláli pelách, but also three and four shed patterns,

gásuitiĕb, with the above described ornamental effect in the black stripes occur. galut is the term for a seven-striped mat, in which the pattern appears as in gásuitiĕb on both sides. It is a four shed pattern.

4: Krämer--190 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
291 Woleai

Most of the men were nude as were the women, whereas some wore a decorative belt around their bodies, near the navel; these belts are about one inch in width and composed of pieces of black and white shells which are perforated and strung in the manner of beads. Some of the natives wore a wide, brimmed, conical hat, somewhat reminiscent of the hats of the Chinese.

4: Krämer--221 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 291 Woleai

Children usually go naked. Girls, after they have begun to menstruate, wear a grass belt, the sivisif (Born: siwesiw); Hellwig shows one made of coconut pinnae; another is made of hibiscus fibers. As elsewhere woven mats, gabalabal (Gabalei, . . . om, gaban) (Born: gapalepal, Kotzebue: gapellepel) are the predominant costume of the women. The workday mat is coarsely plaited from banana and hibiscus fibers (Hellwig: gabe); they often have black (lugural) and red (Ligotra European) stripes (see under bülo). The men wear loincloths (Hellwig: garrogiss) and a rain cloak, negau (nego), made from hibiscus fiber strips. The loincloth (Hellwig: kariri, genurs, gelurs) is woven from banana fibers. Born mentions men's mats, known as tor. Children may wear bunches of leaves which are often arranged in a fancy fashion as the girl on Figure 81 shows [VMM: see source]; this leaf protection is called erünnu or tivetio, Hellwig: jongjong vaifil, and is made of hibiscus fibers. Chains worn across the perineum are called chatiletach (Born). A loincloth for boys, with red and black hibiscus fibers (and banana fibers), is known as bülo; Hellwig shows a coarsely woven mat for women which is called by the same name.

Hat, barong (Hellwig: rarong, made of solivars pandanus). The brim is called narrête, the point ungale, the ring at the point ferigeli, the chinband gali and the seams dëdi.

5: Kittlitz--156
116, 291

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Woleai

We took this opportunity to observe the difference between the clothing of the married women and girls; the latter do not have the narrow woven skirt and instead they wear a circular apron of fresh leaves, which apparently has to be made fresh every day.

6: Senfft--55
116, 291

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

Small children are naked. Young girls wear a short apron made of leaves or grasses which covers the abdomen and the seat and leaves the thighs bare. During their menstrual period they [MR: women] wear a mat woven of banana fiber, about 40 centimeters wide, which they tie with a string around their hips. Although the clothing mats are too stiff to fit the figure properly, the women move so well that the mats are sufficient clothing, whether they are sitting or lying down. The men use the same type of mats, but somewhat narrower. They wear it between their legs and tie it around their hips so that the seat is not covered.

The men wear a narrow loincloth, tor, which is worn like that on Jap. Formerly this consisted of a narrow mat, but today most of the younger men use blue and red cloth; red cloth especially is very popular. When they wade in water that reaches above the hips [178] they remove the loincloth. Children of both sexes wear no clothes until they are about five years old.

The women's dress consists of a woven mat, [179] gapalepal, which they wind around their hips. When they sit down they push the front part of the mat between the upper legs. This garment encloses the hips and legs so tightly that the women all have a strange, stiff and mincing walk. The garment of the young girls is more comfortable. This siwesiw does not require as much labor as the mats of the women which have to be woven. A short apron, attached to a belt worn around the region of the navel, hangs down in front and back; this is made of fresh green leaves. They also wear a narrow strip of leafy material, chatiletach, between the legs. Today some of the young girls wear grass skirts, jungejung, similar to those worn by the Jap women, except that there they are wider and are made of several kinds of leaves and grass, while the skirts here are made of coconut fronds which have been cut into strips.

All the women wear a belt around the hips; this may consist of any kind of material. Often it is made of hairs which are plaited, tschiim, but usually it consists of three or four strands on which black beads made of coconut shells have been strung up, tartar. The strands are held together by small white disks made of shells, maijal shell. These disks are called pak and are made on Oleai. Several holes are drilled into them; they are inserted into the belt at regular intervals. There are usually nine disks in one belt. The belt is tied into a knot at the stomach; the strands, which consist of coconut yarn, are twisted together. I saw one beautiful belt of this type, more valuable than the type commonly worn. Rings made of polished tortoise shells had been substituted for the

coconut beads, and Gau disks which had been polished a dark red were inserted in place of the white shell disks. The jil is worn only at special occasions. This is not the property of one woman; it is a family heirloom, and may not pass out of the family without the permission of all its members. This ornament is an admirable example of Micronesian art, and shows a great deal of taste and aesthetic feeling. It is made on the islands of Ululssi, Feis, Aurepik, Ugulu, and Sorol, where the people of Oleai buy it in exchange for mats, canoes, and food. The best jil are made on Aurepik. They are about 60 to 70 centimeters long, and 4 or 5 centimeters wide; they consist of shell disks and coconut beads strung up on nine strands which are held together by ten tortoise shell buckles, pak-ele-jil. The basic pattern is always the same, with only a few slight variations in details: there are two black areas with a [180] white line through the center, three smaller areas with a black line through the center, and two white areas at each end with a black cross, which again has a white area in the center.

The value of these belts varies considerably, depending on the care with which the work has been executed and on the type of materials chosen. The most highly valued belts are those which have black beads made of tortoise shell rings. These are made on Ugulu and Aurepik. Those made on Sorol and Feis have the lowest value. Here the separate strands are shorter and they are not held together as firmly as in the other belts, and the beads are not made with as much skill and care as those on Aurepik.

11: Born--178-180 (1903) 1904 Woleaians-3
116, 291 Woleai

Both men and women wear the hat made of pandanus leaves which is worn on Jap. Here it is called tscholifatsch.

28: Spiro--42 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 462, 291, 286 Ifalik

"The women weave their skirts and loin-cloths on a true loom. The fabric of which these clothes are made is the bark of the hibiscus or banana tree, which is stripped into long threads. These threads are allowed to dry in the sun, and are then dyed in natural dyes, made by immersing certain kinds of coral into water, creating a chemical reaction, so that the water assumes the color desired, and in turn dyes the thread. Young girls are taught to strip the bark into thread, and to tie the thread together, and in their early teens they are already weaving. But the job is an arduous one, even the most skillful women requiring a minimum of two weeks to complete a skirt, if she does nothing else but weave."

28: Spiro--80 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 291, 286 Ifalik

"To be noted finally, are the women's skirts. These are woven on a true loom, though the origin of the loom is unknown, as far as I know. The threads are colored by natural dyes, coral being immersed in water, and the natural color of the coral dissolving in the water to form the dyes. The basic pattern of the skirts is the same, alternating bands of two basic colors."

28: Spiro--95
116, 291, 864

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This prohibition of sexual behavior does not extend to adult patterns of sexual modesty, however. The little children, both male and female, are completely nude, and the adults make no attempt to inculcate modesty with respect to clothes. The children are not given clothes to wear until they 'savvy shame.' The inception of the sense of shame reveals a sharp sexual difference, however. Boys are nude until the ages of seven or eight, but girls begin to wear skirts at about the age of three or four."

28: Spiro--116 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 291, 864, 839 Ifalik

"It is to be emphasized that the young children wear no clothes, so that the sexual differences between boys and girls is obvious to them. They do not wear clothes until they themselves feel a sense of shame in their nudity, and this, we have already pointed out, shows a sex difference. The little girls put on clothes earlier than the boys, all girls wearing grass skirts by the time they are five, whereas the boys may not wear loin-cloths till they are eight or nine. This results in sexual exhibitionism, as well as play. For example, in the midst of a number of playmates, Taurilus, three year old girl, urinated while standing, holding a large coconut midrib, which touched the ground, in her hand. The others smirked at her, and she stood with a look of enjoyment on her face, enjoying the exhibition. Lezabung, a four year old, stood in front of me, while I was sitting in a house, then bent backwards so that her genitalia were practically in my face, and began to laugh and giggle. Talemelemar would often walk around with a piece of paper or some other object on his penis, and strut about showing it to others."

28: Spiro--118
116, 864, 291

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Once the children begin to wear clothes, they reveal adult attitude towards sex and body exposure. At least twice I was walking along the shore where the young girls were washing and chanced upon them wearing only a g-string, having taken off their grass skirts before entering the water. When they saw me, they became positively panicky, and dove right into the water.

Another time, a little boy snatched the grass skirt from a girl. Only the back part came off. She began to weep, backing into a tree, so that no one could observe her buttocks."

28: Spiro--128 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 291, 831, 827, 177 Ifalik

"Though the people are neither modest in dress nor in sexual practice, in terms of western standards, that is, they are actually quite puritanical. Any sexual reference or term, either anatomical or physiological, is completely taboo in mixed company.

As we have seen, a man does not even permit another man to see his genitals. And anyone would be horrified if a member of the opposite sex had seen him nude. (9)"

"9. The Japanese shocked the sensibilities of the Ifaluk by bathing in the nude. Women would run away if they saw the Japanese bathing, as they were shocked by their boldness."

37: Keiyosai--44 (1929-30) 1930 Woleaians
116, 175, 291, 304, 565 Woleai

Mereyon is the general name of more than 10 islands. We landed on the main island at 8:30 a. m. These islanders are the most primitive people of the Kanakas. They do not wear any clothes except G-strings for men and a sarong woven of banana fibres for women. Among old people, men have tattooing on the stomach and back and women have it on hands and breast districts. This island is a level coral reef. I drank coconut juice now and then. All the men and women like tobacco here.

I saw men sticking combs in their hair. They are so-called free people (high class), and those who do not wear combs are a low class people.

40: Robertson--50 (1875-76) 1877 Woleaians
116, 142, 291, 262 Woleai

"They are a fine, well made race, good featured, light in colour, and are most harmless and inoffensive. This group has at one time been thickly inhabited and there are remains of piers and breakwaters similar to those found in the Pellows. The dress of the natives consists of a species of fine mat which they weave from the fibre of the pandanus. This group produces nothing but cocoanuts, which with fish is the sole food of the natives."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

sions were put in bags or boxes of various sorts and slung by ropes from the rafters, the whole upper part of the house thus being a sort of floorless attic.

The citizens of Ifaluk cooperated nicely in the census operation, though they seemed rather amused at such strange antics. Those who had been weighed and measured loved to stand around and watch the rest as they passed through the routine. It was hard to get some of the people, especially the women, to stand up straight enough for a proper height measurement. They had, in many cases, what seemed to be a permanent crouch, perhaps resulting from the low doorways and interiors, perhaps the product of a sort of chronic deference, since the women of Ifaluk knew their place—always bowing respectfully in the presence of the male animal. (Ted suspected that this show was superficial and that the women, there as everywhere, knew their power and how to use it; one of the five chiefs, it turned out, was a woman.)

There were no ideas of modesty associated with the breasts; and the ladies didn't seem to be bothered by the fact that their skirts gaped rather badly near the belt-line behind. But they were very modest about legs from the knee up and were careful never to expose an inch of thigh. Their preoccupation with keeping their skirts close about their legs was clear enough as they stepped on the scales. Don, impressed by their modest maneuvers as he tried to read the dial on the scales, remarked that they would really be shocked by an American bathing suit.

The people seemed to take wonderful care of the children, the men holding babies and comforting the young as often as the women. Ted and his colleague, Spiro, in their 1948 study, found that the kids were never spanked, and rarely yelled at—though it was said that they sometimes doused them in the lagoon if they got too obstreperous. At the movies on the NETTLE Don noticed one man gently ladling sea water on a bawling baby. The baby stopped crying quickly—and he made a mental note to try this on his own daughter when he got back home.

The smallest infants were in cradles. These were square boxes with low sides, fastened by a bridle of cords from the corners, and suspended a few inches above the floor by a rope from the rafters. The babies were tucked in with some old clothes, and seemed contented enough.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

to him. This arrangement worked well, and soon the concert was in full swing. I watched for a while from the side lines, caught by the contrast of the brown, naked bodies sprawled on the smooth lawn, listening to jazz records on a portable phonograph.

Presently another aspect of the contrast was brought to our attention —which served also as an illumination of the pocket problem. Nudity, or the seminudity of a loin-cloth, has one great drawback—there are no pockets. Of course, pockets don't necessarily follow from clothing, as any woman in the modern West well knows. But the absence of clothing does necessarily result in an absence of pockets. The men of Ifaluk and the women of the West, for their different reasons, thus share the problem of how to carry small useful objects of the sort that the Western male so conveniently stuffs in his pockets. The solution, in both cases, has been the purse. The men of Ifaluk always carried their purses with them—capacious, neatly woven affairs, which they put beside them when they sat down and tucked under their arms as they walked. What, we often wondered, were the contents of such a purse?

We got some insight, on this occasion, from Tony. After three or four records, he remarked to me that he thought the needle should be changed. I remembered we had come across needles in our unpacking, but for the life of me I couldn't remember where we had put them.

"Oh, that's all right," said Tony.

And he started to fish around in the depths of his purse. Presently he emerged with a small package and started to peel off the layers of wrappings of dried banana leaf, to disclose, finally, a paper of phonograph needles.

The answer to our question about the contents of the Ifalukian purse was clear—it might contain anything. Which I suppose would also be the answer in the case of the female purse of the West. Only Tony, carting his precious packet of needles from Ulithi to phonographless Ifaluk, seemed to have attained a state of preparedness hardly equalled by the White Knight. And yet, as Tony so triumphantly demonstrated, you never can tell!

I was, then, in no way surprised, a few days later, to have Tony pull

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

142
291
516
353

ABOVE There was little clutter on the floor of the houses: most family possessions were slung from the rafters.

BELOW The people of Ifaluk cooperated nicely in the census operation.

126
285
142
291
342

[p. 64 (A)]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

casionally rose or dropped over a scale of about three notes. There, in the light of a fire that flared to brightness and sank down almost to darkness as fuel was added or used up, with a row of bare-breasted women singing the pleasant but monotonous dirge-like song, with slow, almost caressingly sensual movements of the hands and arms, Don was overcome again with a feeling of unreality, of the cultural gulf that separated him from them.

But again he thought, this is trivial. The only real barrier is language, and that can be overcome. It was, in fact, already lessening. Just that day, he had been able to explain to a man who brought a wooden bowl to the Fan Nap that Ted was asleep, to tell the man to come back later in the evening, and to ask him whether he wanted tobacco or money for the bowl, and how much. It was a great triumph in communication.

The gulf between California and Ifaluk could be bridged.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

are "natural" and to what extent man-made, because they have been subject to careful cultivation for many generations. The care of the gardens is exclusively women's work and they become expert gardeners. The plants are set in neat rows in rectangular patches, each patch belonging to a particular household so that each household on the atoll has its share of the large Falalap gardens. Weeds grow luxuriously in the rich, mucky soil, and weeding is the main gardening chore. The weeds, I was interested to see, are always buried in the muck, so the practice of "green manuring" is an ancient one here. With young plants, coconut leaves were sometimes used as mulch, to cut down the growth of weeds.

I was greatly impressed, watching these women go about their work, at how little a Westerner would be able to tell them about gardening practices, at how well their methods were adapted to the plants and environment of their atoll. Perhaps one could put this another way, and wonder at how little modern "civilized" man with all his science has been able to improve on, or change, the gardening practices developed by peasant cultures through generations living close to the earth. We have made drastic changes in large-scale agriculture, but the gardener, throughout the world, shares a curiously large fund of common lore.

But I had intended to write here about food, not about agricultural methods. Wot and pulach were eaten to some extent, even during the breadfruit season, just as the preserved breadfruit (mar) was eaten to some extent at other times of the year, making some variation in the daily monotony of starch. There were many slightly different ways of cooking these tubers. We liked best a way of preparing wot (*Colocasia*) whereby it was mashed, cooked with coconut cream, moulded into little balls in a pot, and the whole covered with a thick paste of coconut meat. The effect was a little like that of mashed sweet potatoes served with heavy whipped cream.

Coconut, of course, permeated every aspect of Ifalukian cooking—the milk from green nuts and ripe nuts, the flesh from green nuts and ripe nuts, the sap from the cut flower stalks (here called hachi, perhaps best called "toddy" in English). The coconut was more often used as a supplement in cooking breadfruit or taro, as a seasoning, or the